THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 1, 1864.

NOMINATION OF GEN. MCCLELLAN

The reader will learn from the intelligence given people in nomination for the next Presidency the name of Major General GEORGE B. McCLELLAN. The expression of the popular preference for this distinguished soldier has been so marked during the last few months that the decision of the Convention can be said to have done hardly more than give organic shape and form to a sentiment pervading that great mass of the people in the Loyal States who have become dissatisfied with the conduct of the present Administration. And where the indication of this sentiment has been so universal, and its expression so spontaneous, it would be easy to infer the presence of natural causes adequate to produce such results, for a publie sentiment so wide-spread and so genuine is never the offspring of factitious influences. These natural causes lie upon the surface, and constitute in their mere recapitulation at once an explanation and a defence of the decision which the Convention has reached.

As a man, it is universally conceded that Major General McClellan possesses in the highest degree those qualities which inspire respect, confidence, and admiration. Uniting to purity and probity of private character, as enjoined by the moral law. the virtues and graces engrafted on that character by the code of the Christian faith, he presents in his person the embodiment of a patriotism which takes its animating impulses not only from a perception of what is due to man, but from a profound sense of responsibility to God. And in this day of mutation and uncertainty, when so many foundations of human hope have been destroyed, it is much, very much to know that the man on whom we rely is a man who regulates his conduct according to the principles and precepts of Christianity, as received not merely in the understanding, but as made the rule and guide of his life.

And in every position in which Gen. McClellan has been placed it is safe to say that his successes, and the successes of the cause which he representel, have been in proportion to the degree in which his advice was followed or rejected by his civil or military superiors in the conduct of the war. If this fact was for a time obscured from the popular mind, which looks more to results than to their causes, it has been set in a clear light by the subsequent progress of the war, in vindicating the military administration of Gen. McClellan from the disparagement to which it was ignorantly subjected before men had had the opportunity of comparing it with that of his successors in command. And not only has his practical sense in the management of large armies in the field been thus approved by the comparative judgment of the people, but his penetrating insight into the nature and objects of the war, and therefore into the principles on which it should be conducted, has proved him to possess a clear head as well as strong hand. These are qualities which the people know how to admire, and the value of which is seen to be as great in other fields of executive administration as in the conduct of armies in the field and in the presence of a vigilant and powerful enemy.

It need not be disguised that Gen. McClellan owes, in some degree, the extent and the warmth of the popular enthusiasm every where manifested in his favor to the persecutions of which he has been which he has been hunted alike in the field and since his retirement from active command. The attacks time. thus made upon him have been so obviously the offspring of official jealousies or partisan rivalries that the people have resented the injustice done to him not only from that love of fair play which is instinctive among them, but also because they have had the sagacity to perceive that this injustice to him was a wrong done to the national cal reach of his views on all political questions, cause. They know that McClellan was not kept in retirement for want of capacity when such as have been trusted elsewhere were placed in posts of honor and responsibility. And, policy or advantage. It is for this reason that, if they did not know it before, they know it only alike by the practical measures of legislation which too well now, in the full view of what has been done by men who, with all the help of the authorities in Washington, have accomplished no more (barring the greater number of lives they have sacrificed) than he was able to accomplish while sometimes finding those authorities almost as much a hindrance as a help in his operations.

Whether, therefore, we look to the elements of Gen. McClellan's character or to the history of his conduct, we find in each a guarantee of those qualities and traits which the people most delight to and superiors as a man of mark in his profession, and adding to the knowledge of an accomplished soldier the enlarged and liberal culture derived from studies of practical science as well as of literature, he would bring to the Presidency the graces which adorn that high station as well as the strength necessary to bear its burdens in this day of trial and perplexity. Possessing a mind more remarkable for solidity than brilliancy, calm in his judgments, deliberate in his purpo es, but, after deliberation, tenacious of his resolves, he presents a combination of intellectual qualities and mental traits which, though rare in one so young, may be justly held to derive fresh strength and beauty from their union with the unspent vigor of early manhood.

Such we suppose to be some of the grounds on which the candidacy of Gen. McClellan may be justly vindicated before the American people, and the anontaneous enthusiasm elicited by his name, as well in the walks of private life as in the camp of the soldier, is a sufficient token of the earnestness with which these motives of personal confidence are cherished by multitudes of the people.

And if these are the personal attributes which deservedly command for Gen. McClellan the respect and confidence of his countrymen, it is only just to say that his political principles are such as commend themselves to the cordial acceptance of every lover and supporter of the Union, based on the Constitution and the laws made in pursuance thereof. He stands to-day as the representative embediment of those principles which, at one time in the history of this sad war, enabled the nation in another column that the Chicago Convention, to present an undivided front against the revolureflecting, we doubt not, the vastly preponderant tionary violence of armed sedicion at the South sentiment of its constituents, and responding to and the equally revolutionary exactions of political the wishes and expectations of multitudes among radicalism at the North. If President Lincoln the loyal citizens of the United States not formally had possessed the requisite steadfastness to prerepresented in that body, has placed before the serve the consistency of his opinions-if he had not yielded to a "pressure" from which he asked others to relieve the country, without having the strength of will to relieve himself from its growing demands-he might to-day have stood in the same commanding attitude, and, so standing, might have leaned on the support of a loyal and a united people. But he has chosen to complicate his position, and therefore the fortunes of the Union, so far as they are subject to his control, with policies lying not only outside of the Constitution, but conceived in palpable contradiction with its letter and spirit, as that instrument is construed and interpreted by many, we believe by a vast majority of the loyal people of the United States. From these embarrassments and complications Gen McClellan is free, and the vantage ground which this consideration affords him is apparent to all, and cannot but have its weight in determining the preponderance of the popular judgment, as it shall incline to the candidacy of the one or of the other. according to their comparative opportunities and capacities for dealing with the questions involved in a restoration of the Union. The rledges and commitments which President Lincoln has assumed by his extra-constitutional proclamations, and which are re-affirmed by his late manifesto pre scribing the terms of peace, render it impossible for us to expect any thing like a pacification of our troubles under his Administration, and the succe of his military conduct does not offer to the most sanguine any better hope that he will succeed in exterminating the elements of dissatisfaction which he is unable or unwilling to appease by conciliation. Our only hope of Union and peace, as also of a return to the normal sway of the laws within the Loyal States, is therefore reposed in a change of men in the administration of the Government, to be followed by a change of policy in the management of our affairs, and, so thinking, we shall not hesitate to give our cordial support to the nomination of General McClellan.

We need not say that we shall in the future, as in the past, observe towards those who differ from us in opinion the same deference and candor we opponents, but, having come to this determination under the strongest convictions of public duty, we would beseech all our fellow-citizens, without distinction of party, to approach the consideration of the question now presented for their decision under deep and abiding sense of what is due to themselves, to their country, and to their God, in this day of national tribulation and peril. And may He who controls the hearts of the people so guide them in the choice they shall make in the impend. ing election that, casting out passion and prejudice, they may choose for their chief ruler that man who shall be owned and blessed of Heaven, as one sent in mercy rather than in wrath to our

NOMINATION FOR THE VICE PRESIDENCY.

The choice of the Chicago Convention, as the candidate presented by it for the Vice Presidency of the United States, has fallen on the Hon. GEORGE H. PENDLETON, of Ohio.

tives, having been first elected to a seat in the made the object, and to the unjust obloquy by by the confidence of his constituents, in that nated in armed conflicts between the supporters of logical result of the war, as viewed from the

We do not need to say for the information of our Mr. PENDLETON has made himself felt as a man not only of eloquence and of ability, but as one remarkable for the comprehensive and philosophiprinciples they involve rather than in the aspects suggested by temporary considerations of party he has proposed and by the elevated grounds on which he bases the defence of his opinions, he has won for himself the respect of political opponents as well as the admiration of political friends.

CIVIL GOVERNMENT IN ALEXANDRIA.

The Alexandria " State Journal" informs us that the atcity, to subvert the civil government and place the city exclusively in the hands of the military has failed. The petitions, asking for the change intimated that the loya, taxpayers were oppressed by the " restored Government governor would take matters into his own hands, canction refusal by the people to pay any taxes to the civil authority of the State, and thus ignore the State Government. The motive of the signers the Journals asserts to have been the mercenary one of saving a few dollars of taxes, and it of 1789 was enacting its horrors in Paris and concludes its review of this singular movement by showing

how it has ended, thus "The mevement becoming known to President Lincoin, he addressed a communication at once to Gen. Slough, notifying him that the military should not interfere with the civil power except where military necessity im-peratively demanded it; that the people were no judges where that necessity should acise; that it was competent for the military commander alone to determine the and that the sole re-ponsibility would be upon him. As there is not even the pretence of military necessity in this case—as the State Government is heartily co-operating with the General Government in suppressing the rebellion the responsibility was a little too great for any military commander to take upon his shoulders. So the whole natter drops to the ground."

The course pursued in this case is different, we think, from what was done in Norfolk a short time ago. At that place, we believe, the military commander submitted to a direct vote of the people the question whether or not the municipal government should be abolished or suspended; and, in accordance with a small vote so taken, the military was substituted for the civil power.

The Turkish cotton crop is said to be more than four-

WHENCE AND WHITHER

It is a trite observation that the actors in the midst of great events rarely penetrate the origin, perceive the complexion, or comprehend the variety of the influences which give to those events their direction, quality, and scope. Those who dwell in the heart of a great complication feel too acutely each separate throb of its mighty beatings o count with calmness and accuracy the rate of ts pulsations. When the heads of men are made dizzy by the gigantic sweep and whirl of a great revolution there are very few who mark and measure its elements with sufficient minuteness and continuity to calculate from any given are of its progress the curve through which it is moving. The present Emperor of the French has boasted that he "understands his epoch." It may be that he is one of those who, by their sagacity or the elevation of their views, can perceive more clearly than their contemporaries the "logic of events;" but it is safe to say that no epoch fully understands itself. The passions of men are so implicated with the movements which agitate society in a time of revolutionary phrenzy that it is as impossible for us, under such circumstances, to profit by the lessons of history as by the dissolving views which pass before our eyes, since both alike leave no permanent trace on minds preoccupied by the excitements which give intensity and vehemence to the current that is bearing us along.

We do not profess any more than others among our more enlightened contemporaries to understand the sweep of the eccentric orbit through which this nation is moving, after having, more than three years ago, "shot madly from its sphere." It is not yet clear to our minds whether the path we are describing has even the elements of a reentering curve, or whether it is an erratic flight through space, in which we have forever passed beyond the reach of those "sweet influences" that once bound our Pleiades in their choral harmony. But we think we do perceive enough of the ele ments that mark our course to justify the inference that the "astrologers and monthly prognosti cators' who are looking for a speedy exit from the troubles which environ the land are men who h ve no glimmering, much less a clear-sighted and philosophical perception of the situation in which we

Many are anxiously inquiring (and it is a proper subject of anxious inquiry) when will this war cease? For there are many who ignorantly suppose that it is the war which makes the disturbance in our political syst m. Looking merely on the surface of events and living under the pressure of evils which make themselves too sensibly felt to admit of calm and scientific inquiry into their origin, such persons mistake the effect for the cause, and in their fond wishes transfer to seek habitually to practise towards our political the contingent disappearance of the former all the wistful hopes and expectations that can be justified and fulfilled only by the disappearance of the latter. The war is not the source of the woes which afflict our body politic. It is but the hideous ulcer whose virulence and wide-spreading infection only serve to mark the intensity and depth of the gangrene which has infused itself through our political system, until, in the expressive diction of the Scriptures, " the whole head is sick and the whole heart faint. From the sole of the fcot even unto the head there is no soundness in it, but wounds and bruises and putrefying sores; they have not been closed, neither bound up, neither mollified with ointment."

We have no doubt there were good men of both

parties who, in the midst of the "Great Rebel- which now impel the American people is a nation Clarendon, were wont to exclaim, "when will this war cease?" They supposed, in the imaginations of their hearts, that the war was the revolution through which they were passing, but in fact it decade. It is vastly easier to recount the impossi-This gentleman has been for many years a dis- was only a phase and stage of the revolution. As bilities than the possibilities of our situation, if tinguished member of the House of Representa- that mighty civil commotion had gathered momentum and volume through long and weary years of fliet, as seen from the one side or the other of the Thirty-fifth Congress, and he has been continued, dissension in Church and State before it culmidividing line which parts the belligerents. The branch of the public service down to the present King and of Parliament, between Cavaliers and North side of this line, can be reached only when Roundheads, between Churchmen and Puritans, the processes of "confiscation," "subjugation," so it was not until after the lapse of well-nigh fifty and "extermination" shall have eradicated all the readers that in all the discussions of the trying years from the date of the first battle which period embraced within the last six or seven years | marked the transition point of the strife as it passed from words to blows, that the oscillations of the movement were composed by the accession of William and Mary to the British throne in the year 1688. The war between Charles sigal necessity. Are these results possible? Is which he never fails to consider in the light of the I. and his revolted subjects came to an end, as all wars must come to an end, and only the more modify on both sides the passions which commit speedily because they are waged with spasms of violence. But the war between Charles and his subjects was not the revolution. The British nation finally rested from the agitations of that convulsion it must come in the nature of things. When it neither under the iron rule of Cromwell nor under the effeminate sceptre of Charles II, nor yet under the ambiguous sway of James 1I. The period of the Protectorate was a re-action against the tendencies which had long been gathering head during preceding reigns before they broke out in war during tempt, which was made by some of the residents of that the reign of Charles I. The period of the Restoration under Charles II. and James II. was a reaction against the violence done to the traditions and instincts of the British people by the men who honor. Early signalized by his military comredes of Virginia," and asked for relief by the interference of the presumptuously flew in the face of both. All was military power. The understanding was that the military ebb and flow in the tidal movements of this eventful epoch in English history until the waters found

a level in 1688. And so, in the days when the French revolution depths of their despair, "when will this war cease?" But the war which erected the guillotine in Paris and ravaged the fields of La Vendée, and which finally spread its flames over the face of Europe, was not the French revolution, for that revolution has not yet completed its cycle. The present Emperor bons in 1814, or the accession of Louis Phillipe in revolutions, and the great revolution of 1789 in last of its monster births? What political astron- le mene.

omer has yet calculated the elements of that comet whose flaming path in the heavens once fixed the gaze of Europe, and still "with fear of change perplexes monarchs?"

The reader has already made for himself the application of the lessons taught by these great historic events for the instruction of our own times We are living in the very centre of a gigantic insurrection. Whether we find the well-heads of this conflict in differences of political opinion, in antagonisms of economical interest, or in contra rieties of civilization engendered by distinct social systems, certain it is that the origin of our conflict dates almost as far back in the history of this nation as the comparatively short period of its existence will permit. Is it about slavery that we are fighting? Then the origin of the contest plants its roots in the foundations of the Republic, for it was in differences on this subject that the compromises of the Constitution were formed with the most difficulty, as they have ever since furnished the sharpest points of contact between the Slaveholding and Non-slaveholding States. Is it a question of constitutional relations between the States and the National Government which has put arms in the hands of angered and contending sections? Then the war takes its origin and motive from political differences contemporaneous with the birth of the Constitution, for the heresy of secession is but the natural product of the State rights doctrine as it came in the end to be distorted in the hands of its peculiar patrons. The terrible war which is shaking our continent is not a thing of yesterday. "Far off its coming shone." And the war is not itself the revolution through which this people is passing. It is but a symptom of the fever which has been long raging in our system, and which no blood-letting has vet availed t As in all great historic movements of this kind

there has been in the past no revolution stirring society to its lowest depths and yet marching with steady and equal steps to a predestined conclusion-as there have been ebbs and flows, eddies and regurgitations, marking the tidal movements of the conflict not only in the phases it has assumed from day to day, but in the stages through which it has passed from the period of its rise to its final decline, so we have no reason to suppose that our great civil cataelysm will form any exception to the general rule. Just as well could Falkland foresee on the morning of the day in 1643 when he fell in the battle of Newbury the mutations through which England would pass before she found peace under William and Mary in the revolution of 1688, as we can predict the intervals lying between the beginning and the end of this Titanic revolt. There are those who descry the end of the revolt only in war-MORE WAR for three years to come than we have had for the three years just passed, as though this were a physical possibility. There are those who descry the end of the revolt only in peace, as though a mere cessation of hostilities would bring with it the old fraternal feeling which was soured by generations of political dissensions before it was curdled under the exasperations of war. The zealots who talk of the military "subjugation" and "extermination" of the Southern people know not the meaning of the words they use And the opthat we shall wake up some bright morning and find that we have shaken off our consuming sorrow like a hideous dream of the night, are equally shallow in their fancies and fond in their hopes. The would have been expelled from this capital by huge and political passions as towering as ion" whose record still lives in the pages of which in some measure has parted with an assured control over its own destiny.

We cannot be sure what fate awaits us to-morrow, or in the next year, much less in the next harmlessly averted or speedily allayed. men have regard to a logical solution of our conmeans and agents of armed resistance at the South Is this possible? The logical results of the war, as viewed from the South side of that line, can be reached only when secession shall be admitted as a political right, and disunion be accepted as a phyit not evident that the "logic of events" must us to endless war? For is not endless war as impossible as it is unendurable? Fow peace vill come no man can predict, but it will come, because will come no man can predict, for who can tell what a day will bring forth when the thoughts of men have left their old channels? Who has so calculated the elements of our great social and political agitation that he can fix the points at which the nation will pause or find permanent rest from the turmoil of our troublous times?

As the first condition of all right knowledge is to know the limitations of our faculties, so the first condition of all right action is to know the impossibilities of our situation. When these are clearly pe ceived and generally acknowledged, the " pos sibilities" of our position will, under the provi dence of God, be revealed to us according to times which no mere human foresight can appoint and in ways which no mere human wisdom can throughout France, we dare say there were many ordain. As soon as this people is as ready to fol patriots who, failing to appreciate the nature or low the leadings of Providence as it has been to magnitude of the crisis, cried in an agony from the attempt the unequal task of coercing Providence in the line of its own predetermined wishes, we may expect to see the path of duty opening before us into the path of safety. By what devious step we shall find this path, if we are ever to find it a all, or through what valleys of humiliation we may have to pass before it shall be reached, if reached of the French is as lineally the offspring of that at all, are issues of the undeveloped future, known revolution as was the Directory, or the Consulate, only to Him who appoints "the bounds of our or the first Emperor, or the Restoration of the Bour- habitation." Aide-toi, le ciel l'aid ra-" hely yourself, and heaven will help you"-is a maxin 1830, or the Republic in 1848. As there are that should prompt to all human activity in th wheels within wheels so there are revolutions within path of Heaven's pointing, for the maxim will b realized in our experience only as we accept anothe France contained all these revolutions within its which teaches that "man stirs himself, but it bosom, and who shall say that we have seen the God who leads him"-I'homme s'agite, mais Dies

THE ELEMENTS OF THE CONTEST.

The thoughtful reader has been able to infer, from the tenor of the observations we offered on Saturday last with respect to the origin and causes of the present deplorable war, that its outbreak, however precipitated by violence on one side or by menaces on the other, was sooner or later inevitable. We know it is common to say that the war might have been avoided if the leaders of the party which acceded to the control of the Government under President Lincoln had shown a proper spirit of concession, which is much the same as to say that the war might have been avoided if the leaders of that party had been angels and not men. In considering the historic probabilities of the question, we are bound to estimate the forces which impelled each of the contending sections in a given line of direction until they both asensibly drifted into a war, without knowing at all the strength of the motives under which they were acting. The intensity and volume of the political and moral forces colliding in this great shock have been revealed to ourselves only by the magnitude of the concussion which has shaken ociety to its lowest base.

We are quite well aware that no comprehensive view of this kind can relieve from the just weight of the responsibility which they incurred the men who, on the one side or the other, sought rather to invite than to avert this catastrophe. There is "needs be" that offences come, but woe to the man by whom the offences come. The philosophical historian, however, who shall analyze in their ultimate causes and impelling motives the events that are now passing before our eyes will be able to perceive in them the result of deep-rooted and wide-spread antipathies, involving whole classes of nen, rather than the offspring of personal machinations or individual ambition. Personal machinations and individual ambition have not indeed been wanting on the one side or the other of the dividing line, but the far-impending issue has shown itself to be stronger than all these by the gigantic sweep it has taken beyond the scope which entered into the schemes and calculations of the men who supposed they were controlling its movements, but who have lived only to see themselves made the sport of the forces they had evoked.

"He who of old would rend the oak

And so they who undertook to rend this Union were little aware of the wrathful forces which they would unchain by that rash act. But these forces now make their presence every where felt, and they show themselves to be stronger than the men whom they impel, for they every where drive men headlong according to the gusts of passion rather than the persuasions of reason.

We have cause to believe that the inexorable 'logic of events' has taught some useful but bitter lessons to anti-slavery zealots at the North, and to that class at the South who for years had been the propagandists of disunion. Golden dreams have been dispelled. The spirit of pride and predominance which so long ruled in the hearts of many Southern politicians, causing them to augur not only the easy maintenance of Southern independence, but the casy conquest of the "unmilitary North," has been east out. In the outset timists who, in their visions of "peace," expect of the war the Federal Government was assailed not only in the property of the nation lying within the Seceded States, but its security in the National Capital was menaced; and it is safe to say that it nation that becomes a prey to physical forces as armed violence if it had not placed itself in an attitude of resistance. The forces which joined us in this gigantic struggle were destined to impinge at some point, and when they came into collision in the year 1861 they speedily served to show by their violence that they were not of a nature to be

HON. BENJAMIN R. CURTIS.

When we passed in brief review a few days ago the names of certain distinguished gentlemen. prominently brought before the country with reference to the impending Convention at Chicago, we stated that it was our purpose to restrict ourselves to names which it was within our knowledge had been publicly or privately canvassed for the nonor of a nomination by that body. If, under the restriction thus prescribed to ourselves, we had been free to suggest the name of another eminent citizen, who, so far as we are aware, has not been publicly designated as a candidate for the Presidency, but who, by the dignity and weight of his character, would impart more honor to that of his character, would impare more and the might high office than he could receive from it, we might slavery.

As this subject is thus fairly up for discussion, we will as this subject is thus fairly up for discussion, we will be the fairly up for discussion. another distinguished son of Massachusetts besides the one we were called to mention. We allude to the Hon. BENJAMIN R. CURTIS, formerly an Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, but now pursuing his profession at the bar. Giving his days and his nights to the exacting career of the law, Judge Curtis is not one of those who would be likely to attract the attention or conciliate the favor of mere political managers, but if the highest office in the people's gift were marked "to be given to the most worthy," there are few men in the country who would deserve to enter the lists with him in a competition where merit alone was to decide the award that should be made. It adds to his deserving that he has shown by his pen, in the times through which we are passing, that he "understands his epoch," and can give good counsel to the people in this day of perplexity and trial, when the rules and processes of law are in danger from the assumptions of "Executive power."

EMPLOYMENT OF SLAVES.

The Secretary of War has ordered that all slaves who are brought to the several recruiting rendezvous in the everal slave States and found physically disqualified for nilitary service, and who do not desire to return to their masters but seek military protection, shall not be rejected, out enlisted and mustered into the United States service with a view to transfer to the Quartermaster's Departnent. Quartermasters are also ordered not to forward he men until they are properly transferred by order of the War Department .- New York Tribune.

Montgomery papers of a week ago say that the railroad rom that city to Atlanta, destroyed by Gen. Rousseau. canot possibly be put in working order before the 1st of september. There is difficulty in getting iron, which at last reports was held at two hundred and fifty dollars per ton; also difficulty in getting laborers.

THE PRESIDENT'S MANIFESTO.

From the New York Times. The National Intelligencer persists in maintaining that President Lincoln stands pledged, not only by the letter to whom it may concern," but also by his emancipation proclamation, not to receive or consider any proposition for peace with the rebels which does not embrace the abanonment of slavery as well as the restoration of the Union. It holds that he is bound to prosecute the war for the abolition of slavery, even after its prosecution ceases to be necessary for the restoration of the Union. We have already given our reasons for not concurring in this opinion. We do not believe that Mr. Lincoln is so pledged by his sntecedent or by his declarations—nor do we believe that his practical conduct of the Government will be guided by the men in arms under him against the Union, to return o his allegiance to the Constitution and Government of the United States, we believe that President Lincoln would there upon stop the war. We do not believe that he would continue it for an hour longer, for the abolition of slavery ontinue it for an nour longer, for the abolition of slavery or for any other purpose. The Union saved, all other questions at issue would be at once remanded to the decision of the proper tribunals—and, if desired by the proper authorities, the Constitution itself would be submitted to

the revision of a Convention.

The Intelligencer labors with unwonted zeal to demon trate that the President cannot, with consistency or with honor, pursue the policy we thus expect at his hands. It appeals not only to his declarations on the subject but to the hopes and prejudices of his radical supporters to exclude him from the possibility of such action. Its earnestness in this matter savors much more of the warmth of a parti-san who apprehends evil to his party cause or candidate from the patriotic action of an opponent than of one zeal-ous for the safety of the nation, and eager to have it erured by a wise and patriotic policy on the part of its

rulers. we do not intend to follow the Intelligencer in the de-tails of its argument. It quotes from the President's proc-lamation the declaration that the slaves in rebel. States on the 1st of January, 1863, shall be thenceforward free and that the "Executive Government, including the mile tary and naval authority thereof, will recognise and main-tain their freedom." It quite also his subsequent dicta-ration that while he remains in effice he will "not attempt o retract or modify the emancination proclamation," and that to abandon the slaves freed unfer it would be a 'cruel and astounding breach of faith." covered by the emancipation edict. We do not concur in that interpretation of these declarations. In our judgment t gives them a far wider scope than was ever in In the first place, the emancipatton proclamation was

issued as a means to an end. It was designed to be a weapon of war—a "lever of power," as the President styled it in his last message to Congress. It was issued, according to its own terms—not as defining the object of the war, or fixing any new aim which must be reached before the war could end—but "as a fit and necessary war. "warranted by the Constitution" only "as a military neessity." It would seem to be evident that a decree is und or the purpose of securing a certain end would, the mo tical viger and effect than such as might have been given o it while it was operative in its proper character. If it did free certain slaves while aiming to suppress the rebel-tion, those slaves would doubtless be free after the rebal-ion should be closed. But that it must continue to be enforced by arms, after the end for which it was issued had been secured, in order to accomplish practically the freedom of all the slaves, seems to us pr p st rous. We see nothing in any language President Lincoln has ever see nothing in any language President Lincoln bas used to warrant us in believing that he so regards it the contrary, every thing he has said on the subject goes to show that the proclamation was regarded b, him as purely a military measure—a means of accomplishing a military end, and justifiable only on the ground of military recessivy. In his last annual message he says: "Acord-og to our pointies! system, as a matter of civil administration, the Government had no lawful power to effect eman-sepation in any State, and for a long time it had been hoped but the rebellion could be suppressed without resorting to measure, in order to suppress the rebellion, arose, it was seem to be evident that the measure must lose all practical force and effect. We mine an enemy's works to capture them; it would be idle and absurd to continue the mine after the works should be surrendered.

We do not see what the Intelligencer or the country has

to gain by throwing doubt upon President Lincoln's posi-tion on this subject. If it should succeed in convincing the people that he means to continue the war after the re-bellion is quelled and the Union saved for the purpose of the Government by destroying the public confide the Government by destroying the public of the control of the diaft, check volunteering, excite general discontent, and most seriously imperil the Union cause. We can understand why hot headed, selfish, party zealots pursue this course, reckless of these results; but we should have ex preted to find the Intelligencer smoothing the path of patriotic duty for the President in these days of perplexity perfectly free from all commitments and obligations that conflict with the supreme duty of saving the Union, of waging the war with all possible vigor to coust the rebelion, and of stopping the war just as soon as that result has been attained. In our judgment, he is perfectly free not only to "receive and consider" any proposition of p-ace that embraces the integrity of the Union and the ce-sation of the rebellion, but he is also perfectly free to make a formal proffer of peace upon that sole condition whenever he may thick it would be conducive to the public good And we trust that, if any occasion should arrive when such a prospect or possibility of peace shall come before him from any quarter, the Intelligencer at least will not seek to drive him from its consideration by a parade of pladges and commitments strained beyond their proper

From the Pittsburg (Pa.) Gazette.

There is a strong desire in New York, where money rules, for peace at almost any price and on almost any terms. The Tribune and Times represent the better part of the Wall street interest in this regard, and the World and Journal of Commerce the grosser part. In the commercial centres the same feeling prevails, and probably in much the same way; but Wall street is always more deonstrative than any other locality, and the feeling of the money interest of the country generally finds expression The pressure from this source upon the Adm'tis tration has been very strong; and ever since Mr Greeley became a cort of ambassador at Niagara, the Wali street interest has not been slow in taking advantage of his willingness to bring about a peace without the abolition of

not be slow in putting our opinions forward. We, too, are for peace, but we are for a lasting peace, and not for any hollow truce that may bring us for the present the semblance of a peace, yet will be at best but a temporary sm thering of the fires of discord, leaving them to burst out again with increased fury. We are for the Uni n. too, and for its restoration, but upon such terms as will secure

eguinst future attempts at rupturing it. so long as slavery is allowed to exist within our bounds, it is an element of constant discord and strife, and it will either rule or ruin. We have seen enough of its rule, and we are now seeing its efforts at ruin If we do not crush it now, it will cease its off its at ruin only by being re-stored to rule. Shall we, after escribeing the lives of over two hundred thousand brave men, and incurring a debt of two thousand millions, go back to the old condition of things and leave a similar centest for some future genera-tion? Then has all this blood and treasure been spent for

It is very easy to assume that "slavery is absolutely gone," but it is not true. The Fremont Convention at Cleveland stultified itself by adopting as a fact that which every day's history proves to be a lie, that slavery is dead. Slavery is not dead, nor is it absolutely gone. It does not appear to be even going. It is at this heur the life and soul of the rebellion, and only when the latter is thoroughly crushed will the former die. If any peace is concluded which is not based upon the thorough abolition of slavery, it will be found, therefore, that it is alive and a und, able it will be found, therefore, that it is alive and a und, able to control Judges, overawe Presidents, domineer Congress, and rule the country So that it is hardly worth while to plead for peace wi hout abolition upon the plea that slavery is absolutely gone

It is equally vain to ask un to leave the question of slavery to the courts. We are unwilling to trust any question in which human freedom is concerned to the Supreme

Court as at present constituted. If we are going to make peace let us make it upon terms too plain to need j.d. cial We all know what we mean; let us there fore say plainly what we mean. If we mean to restore slavery, let us say so; and if we mean to abolish it let us say it, and say it in unmistakable terms. If I berty is to be cheated, let her be cheated openly, and not by dodging chind the courts.

The President has issued his proclamation declaring the lares free; let him stend by it if he wants the people to tand by him. Congress has endorsed and legalized that reclamation, let us have no backing out from it. After bree years of war, with all its bitter lessons and sad expeences, it is too late to tell us that we must not insist up a be vantage ground we have gained. Shall we tell the vid we and orphase and mourners which the war has made, that after all we have not been fighting for freedom, that in fact we have been fighting for nothing? Others may do as they like, but no step shall be taken backward